

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 239379

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C - MR. MONTGOMERY

S/S - MR. ORTIZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 239379

NODIS

USUN FOR HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, YO, US

SUBJECT:U.S.-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS

1. SUMMARY: YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI ASKED FOR AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE ACTING SECRETARY TO DELIVER A MESSAGE FROM THE GOY BUT AGREED TO SEE THE COUNSELOR INSTEAD. AT THEIR MEETING AT 4:00 P.M. ON SEPTEMBER 23, BELOVSKI READ A NOTE VERBALE PRESENTING GOY VIEWS ON RECENT EVENTS IN U.S.-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS, EMPHASIZING THAT IT WAS NOT A FORMAL COMMUNICATION AND DID NOT REQUIRE RESPONSE. IN HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATION AFTERWARDS HE OFFERED AN OLIVE BRANCH AND, HE SAID WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, PROPOSED A MEETING AT THE UNGA BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC. THE COUNSELOR CONCURRED IN THE NEED TO BEGIN A DIALOGUE AIMED AT SETTING OUR RELATIONS BACK ON A NORMAL COURSE AND AGREED TO SEE IF A UNGA BILATERAL COULD BE ARRANGED. END

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 239379

SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI BEGAN BY OBSERVING THAT HE LEARNED

DURING HIS RECENT SOJOURN IN BELGRADE THAT THERE IS HIGH TENSION IN U.S.-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS. THIS IS UNDESIRABLE TO BOTH SIDES AND PRODUCES EFFECTS NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF EITHER. HE "RUSHED BACK" TO WASHINGTON

TO SEE IF HE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO REVERSING THE TREND. HE ASKED FOR A MEETING IN ORDER TO DISCUSS WHERE WE GO FROM HERE. BEFORE GETTING INTO THIS, HOWEVER, HE WANTED TO READ A STATEMENT OF THE GOY VIEW OF OUR RELATIONS WHICH HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO DELIVER IN THE FORM OF A NOTE VERBALE. HE EMPHASIZED THAT IT IS NOT AN OFFICIAL NOTE REQUIRING AN ANSWER, BECAUSE CORRESPONDENCE IS NOT WHAT IS NEEDED NOW. HE SAID THAT, AFTER READING THE NOTE, HE WANTED TO SIT AND TALK ABOUT THE SITUATION.

3. BELOVSKI THEN READ THE TEXT OF THE NOTE WHICH FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

--- THE EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA PRESENTS ITS COMPLIMENTS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND, ACTING UPON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA, WISHES TO COMMUNICATE THE FOLLOWING:

--- IN EMPHASIZING THE INTEREST IN THE CONTINUED AND UNHAMPERED DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT HAS ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS DRAWN THE ATTENTION OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO THE FACT THAT THE ANTI-YUGOSLAV TERRORIST ACTIVITY IN U.S.A. IMPEDES AND HARMS RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED ITS CONCERN OVER THIS FACT NOT ONLY AT THE TIME WHEN SPECIFIC TERRORIST ACTIONS AGAINST YUGOSLAV REPRESENTATIVES AND MISSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES WERE COMMITTED, BUT ALSO IN REGULAR CONTACTS BETWEEN TH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND TWO
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 239379

PARLIAMENTS WHEN DISCUSSING THE PROMOTION OF YUGOSLAV AMERICAN RELATIONS.

--- ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA, IN AUGUST 1975, BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, MR. GERALD FORD, IN A DESIRE NOT TO BURDEN THE TWO PRESIDENTS WITH THIS MATTER, A PRO MEMORIA ON THE ANTI-YUGOSLAV TERRORIST ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES WAS PRESENTED TO THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. ARTHUR HARTMAN, IN THE FULL CONVICTION THAT US GOVERNMENT WOULD, IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS DECLARED POLICY

AND IN THE INTEREST OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA, UNDERTAKE CONCRETE AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES AIMED AT COMBATING AND PREVENTING THE TERRORIST ACTIVITY AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

--- IT IS A FACT, HOWEVER, THAT A NUMBER OF TERRORIST ACTS HAVE RECENTLY BEEN COMMITTED WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST THE YUGOSLAV REPRESENTATIVES AND MISSIONS. IT IS ALSO A FACT THAT NOT A SINGLE PERPETRATOR OF TERRORIST ACTS AGAINST THE YUGOSLAV REPRESENTATIVES AND MISSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES HAS EVER BEEN BROUGHT INTO COURT AND CONVICTED, NOR HAS A SINGLE CASE OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA BEEN RESOLVED UP TILL NOW.

--- THAT CANNOT BE ACCEPTED BY THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT AND THE YUGOSLAV PUBLIC AT LARGE. WHETHER WE WANT IT OR NOT, A PROFOUND IMPRESSION IS BEING CREATED IN YUGOSLAV PUBLIC TO THE EFFECT THAT TOLERANCE OF THESE ACTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES IMPLIES AN EXERCISE OF PRESSURE UPON THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA, UPON ITS NON-ALIGNED POSITION AND INTERNATIONAL ROLE.

--- THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT TOLERANCE OF THE ANTI-YUGOSLAV TERRORIST ACTIVITY IS IN FLAGRANT CONTRADICTION WITH THE DECLARED POLICY AND THE STATEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON ITS DESIRE TO PROMOTE FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION WITH YUGOSLAVIA.

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 239379

--- IT IS HARD TO DEVELOP AND PROMOTE RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION SUCCESSFULLY WHILE, AT THE SAME TIME, TOLERATING ANTI-YUGOSLAV TERRORIST ACTIONS, NOR CAN THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT ACCEPT THE ATTITUDE THAT ACTS OF TERRORISM WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST THE SFRY CANNOT BE EFFICIENTLY SURPRESSED AND PREVENTED AND THAT THEY MAY BE WITHOUT CONSEQUENCE OR DAMAGE TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

--- THE LATEST TERRORIST ACT OF HIJACKING AN AIRCRAFT COMMITTEED BY THE FASCIST-TERRORIST GROUP RESULTING IN THE LOSS OF HUMAN LIFE, WHICH WE SINCERELY REGRET, HAS CAUSED HARM TO THE INTERESTS AND PRESTIGE OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA AS A CONSEQUENCE OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONDITIONS DEMANDED BY THE TERRORISTS. SUCH CONDUCT CANNOT BUT UNFAVOURABLY AFFECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD YUGOSLAV-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

--- THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL PUBLIC HAVE ALWAYS SYMPATHIZED AND SIDED WITH THE INNOCENT VICTIMS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. THEY YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT

HAS NOTED THAT THERE OCCURRED A CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE AUTHORITIES OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE CASE OF THE HIJACKING OF THE AIRPLANE BY THE TERRORISTS. IT IS UP TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT IT WILL NEGOTIATE WITH THE TERRORISTS AND ACCEPT THEIR DEMANDS. HOWEVER, THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED OVER THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS PERMITTED ITS POSITION TO CHANGE TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF A FRIENDLY COUNTRY - SFR OF YUGOSLAVIA.

--- THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT PARTICULARLY WISHES TO EXPRESS ITS CONCERN AND DEEP DISATISFACTION AT THE FACT THAT AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE BY THE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, CONTRARY TO THE FACTUAL STATE OF AFFAIRS, TO LINK INTERVENTION OF THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE ATTITUDE OF
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 239379

THE AUTHORITIES OF THE USA GOVERNMENT AT THE TIME OF THE HIJACKING OF THE AIRPLANE, WITH THE "CARLOS CASE". ALL THE MORE SO, SINCE THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT HAS INDICATIONS THAT THE ENTIRE SO-CALLED "CARLOS CASE" IS CALCULATED AT DISCREDITING YUGOSLAVIA AND ITS ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, WITH AN AIM OF GIVING RISE TO A BROADER ANTI-YUGOSLAV FEELINGS IN THE WORLD.

--- PROCEEDING FROM THE MUTUAL INTEREST IN HAVING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BASED UPON AND PROMOTED IN THE SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES OF THE JOINT STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENTS OF THE SFRY AND OF THE USA, AND FROM THE MUTUAL ASSESSMENT THAT THE TERRORIST ACTIVITY AGAINST THE SFRY IS CONTRARY TO THE POLICY OF FRIENDLY AND GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THAT IT HAS A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON THESE RELATIONS, THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT HOPES THAT IN THE INTEREST OF GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN USA AND YUGOSLAVIA THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WILL POLITICALLY CONDEMN ANTI-YUGOSLAV TERRORIST ACTIVITY, AND UNDERTAKE ENERGETIC AND ADEQUATE MEASURES DESIGNED TO PUNISH, DISCOURAGE AND PREVENT TERRORISTS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS FROM COMMITTING ACTS OF TERRORISM AGAINST THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA.

--- THE EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA AVAILS ITSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE THE ASSURANCES OF

ITS HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

---WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 23, 1976 END TEXT.

4. AFTERWARDS, BELOVSKI REPEATED THAT IT WAS ONLY A GOY STATEMENT OF VIEWS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION. HE ADDED THAT HE CAN PERSONALLY SAY THAT TENSION AT HOME IS "HIGH". POLITICAL CIRCLES ARE "SURPRISED AND SHOCKED" THAT SOME CONDITIONS OF THE TWA HIJACKERS WERE ACCEPTED, THAT THE AMERICAN PRESS HAD OPENED ITS PAGES TO THEM. THERE IS A FEELING IN BELGRADE THAT THIS REQUIRED A COUNTERACTION BY YUGOSLAVIA. BELOVSKI EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL FEELING THAT WE HAVE
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 239379

REACHED THE ENDURABLE LIMIT OF TENSIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. WE SHOULD NOT ALLOW THE TREND TO CONTINUE; IT IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF EITHER THE GOY OR THE USG TO DO SO. BELOVSKI SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO TRY TO REASON TOGETHER, TO SEE HOW TO REDUCE THE CURRENT TENSION SO AS TO DIVERT THE TREND TO A POSITIVE DIRECTION. AFFECTING A DETACHED AIR, HE REMARKED THAT HE ADVISES BOTH THE GOY AND THE USG THAT IT IS TIME TO "COOL THEIR HEADS" AND THINK HOW THEY CAN RETURN TO A NORMAL DIALOGUE.

5. IF EACH EXAMINES THE SITUATION OVER THE PAST FIVE MONTHS IT IS CLEAR THAT BOTH HAVE ENGAGED IN AN EXCHANGE OF PROTESTS. IT IS HARD TO SAY WHO IS LEADING, THE U.S. OR YUGOSLAVIA. BUT IT IS TIME TO ASK IF WE ARE NOT CAUSING A CHAIN OF EVENTS THAT WILL LEAD TO A BAD END. BELOVSKI CONTINUED THAT IF HE COULD FIND A PARTNER WITH WHOM HE COULD SOBERLY THINK ABOUT HOW TO REVERSE THE TREND, AND IF THE SAME IS DONE IN BELGRADE, THEN THERE MIGHT BE A GOOD RESULT.

6. RESPONDING, THE COUNSELOR SAID THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THERE HAS BEEN A REGRETTABLE TREND OF EVENTS AND THAT IT SERVES NEITHER OF OUR INTERESTS. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE AMBASSADOR'S FEELINGS AND PROMISED TO REPORT TO THE SECRETARY THE AMBASSADOR'S DESIRE TO HALT THE PRESENT CHAIN OF DEVELOPMENTS AND RETURN TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE TRACK ALONG THE LINES OF OUR HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGES.

7- HOWEVER, THE COUNSELOR OBSERVED THAT FRANKLY HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE TONE REPRESENTED IN THE GOY'S NOTE VERBALE CONTRIBUTED TO AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE TREND. HE EXPRESSED RELIEF THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN PRESENTED AS A FORMAL NOTE TO WHICH WE WOULD HAVE TO REPLY, BECAUSE WE WOULD REJECT THE NOTION THAT

THE USG ENCOURAGES OR EVEN TOLERATES TERRORISTS.
HE POINTED TO THE RECENT GRAND JURY INDICTMENTS
OF THE TWA HIJACKERS, AND SAID THAT WE WILL PUNISH

ANY CRIMINALS THAT ARE APPREHENDED. WE REGRET THE ACTS
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 239379

THAT HAVE BEEN COMMITTED AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA, BOTH IN
HUMAN TERMS AND IN TERMS OF DAMAGE TO YUGOSLAV INTERESTS.
WE SEEK NO SUCH DAMAGE, AND WE DO NOT TOLERATE IT.
HOWEVER, WE HAVE LAWS AND LEGAL PROTECTIONS WHICH WE
MUST UPHOLD.

8. THE COUNSELOR EMPHASIZED THAT THERE HAS BEEN "NO
CHANGE" IN OUR POLICY ON HIJACKING AND WE HAVE
PUBLICLY REAFFIRMED THIS. EACH CASE IS DIFFERENT AND
MUST BE HANDLED AS APPROPRIATE. WE HAVE MADE CLEAR
THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN OUR BASIC POLICY, AND IT
DOES NOT HELP FOR THE GOY TO CHARGE OTHERWISE. IN
THE CASE AT HAND, THE LEGAL MACHINERY IS WORKING, AND
THE CULPRITS WILL BE PUNISHED.

9. CONTINUING, THE COUNSELOR POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD
TALKED TO THE YUGOSLAV CHARGE ABOUT CARLOS ON SEPTEMBER 8
TWO DAYS BEFORE THE HIJACKING, SO THERE COULD
BE NO QUESTION OF ANY LINK BETWEEN THE TWO EVENTS.
BELOVSKI REPLIED THAT SUCH A LINK HAD BEEN MADE IN
MR. HARTMAN'S DEMARCHE TO PETKOVIC ON SEPTEMBER 15.
THE COUNSELOR NOTED THAT IN THE CASE OF CARLOS WE
HAD ACTED IN GOOD FAITH ON THE BASIS OF RELIABLE
INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US. THE COUNSELOR WENT ON
TO OBSERVE THAT THE CARLOS INCIDENT WAS A MATTER OF
DEEP CONCERN TO US, AND THE COINCIDENCE OF TIMING WITH
THE HIJACKING WAS NOTHING THAT WE HAD CREATED. NEVERTHELESS,
IT WAS NATURAL THAT THE TWO INCIDENTS
WOULD ARISE IN THE SAME CONVERSATION BECAUSE OF THEIR
PROXIMITY IN TIME, ESPECIALLY SINCE MR. HARTMAN AND
HIS SUPERIORS REGARDED THE GOY REACTION TO THE HIJACKING
AS UNHELPFUL AT A TIME WHEN WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE
LIVES OF THE HOSTAGES AND HOW TO RESOLVE THE SITUATION.

10. THE COUNSELOR REITERATED THAT THERE ARE THINGS
IN THE NOTE VERBALE THAT CANNOT BE ACCEPTED. HE
EXPRESSED THE WISH THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN PRESENTED
IN SUCH A TONE, SINCE HE AGREES THAT IT IS TIME TO
PUT OUR RELATIONS ON A BETTER COURSE. BELOVSKI
REPLIED THAT THE NOTE VERBALE IS A STATEMENT FOR
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 239379

THE RECORD, NOT A PROTEST. IT IS NOT IN A TONE WHICH OPENS A DEBATE, OTHERWISE BELOVSKI WOULD NOT HAVE ACCEPTED THIS MISSION TO DELIVER IT. HIS TOTAL PREOCCUPATION NOW IS HOW TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS AND HOW TO IMPROVE THE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN US.

11. THE COUNSELOR RESPONDED THAT HE HAD INTENDED TO GET INTO THAT, AS HE FINDS IT REGRETTABLE THAT COMMUNICATIONS WITH OUR AMBASSADOR IN BELGRADE HAVE BEEN INTERRUPTED. BELOVSKI DENIED THAT THIS WAS THE CASE, SUGGESTING THAT THE AMBASSADOR IS TREATED AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE USG. THE COUNSELOR REJOINED THAT HE APPRECIATED BELOVSKI'S ASSURANCES, BECAUSE WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT OUR AMBASSADOR IS NOT ABLE TO SEE YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS. BELOVSKI PERSISTED WITH HIS DENIAL, SAYING THAT HE PERSONALLY HAS INVOLVED HIMSELF IN THIS QUESTION.

12. THE COUNSELOR REITERATED HIS AWARENESS OF THE NEED FOR COMMUNICATION CHANNELS, POINTING OUT THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAD HAD GOOD TIES WITH BELOVSKI'S TWO PREDECESSORS. THEY COULD DISAGREE IN DISCUSSION, BUT THEY NEVERTHELESS HAD REWARDING AND PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIPS. THESE MATTERS SHOULD BE TENDED TO; OUR DEALINGS SHOULD NOT BE CONFINED TO PROTESTS BUT TO DISCUSSION. BELOVSKI OBSERVED THAT HE HAD HAD 14 INTERVENTIONS REGARDING MR. TOTH. THE COUNSELOR OBSERVED THAT THIS HAD BEEN A VERY SERIOUS CASE AND WE ARE GLAD IT HAS BEEN RESOLVED AND IS HOPEFUL THERE WILL BE NO OTHERS LIKE IT.

13. THE COUNSELOR POINTED OUT FURTHER THAT WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT, WHILE THERE ARE INDIVIDUAL INCIDENTS SUCH AS TOTH, THE HIJACKING, OR THE ACTS AGAINST YUGOSLAV PROPERTY WHICH ARE DRAMATIC AND DISTURBING TO OUR RELATIONS, THERE ARE ALSO BROADER POLITICAL ISSUES BETWEEN US THAT CREATE A NEGATIVE ATMOSPHERE SUCH AS ANGOLA, CYPRUS, PANAMA, AND PUERTO RICO. THE COUNSELOR OBSERVED THAT THIS GENERAL POLITICAL CLIMATE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD BE MORE CONSTRUCTIVE. WHEN INDIVIDUAL INCIDENTS
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 09 STATE 239379

OCCUR IN A BROADER CLIMATE OF NEGATIVE POLITICAL RELATIONS, THEN THEY BECOME A TREND INSTEAD OF JUST INCIDENTS. IF THE INCIDENTS WERE TO OCCUR IN AN ISOLATED FASHION AGAINST A GENERALLY POSITIVE CLIMATE, THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEM.

14. BELOVSKI, STRESSING HIS DESIRE FOR A RETURN TO A NORMAL DISCUSSION EVEN WITHIN THE BROADER CONTEXT THE COUNSELOR HAD RAISED, POINTED OUT THAT WHEN WE DISCUSS PANAMA, FOR EXAMPLE, IN A NORMAL WAY, THEN WE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER. THE COUNSELOR REMARKED

THAT WE SEE AN EVOLUTION THAT HAS NOT YET GONE AS FAR AS WE WOULD LIKE ON THIS ISSUE, BUT HE EXPRESSED CONCURRENCE IN THE NEED FOR NORMAL DIALOGUE. BELOVSKI ASKED THAT YUGOSLAVIA NOT BE SINGLED OUT IN THESE AREAS WHEN THERE ARE OTHER COUNTRIES WITH WHICH THE U.S. HAS MORE SERIOUS DIFFERENCES BUT MORE NORMAL RELATIONS.

15. THE COUNSELOR WENT ON TO EMPHASIZE THAT WE ADVOCATE THE MOST POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH YUGOSLAVIA FOR VERY GOOD REASONS AND THAT THESE VIEWS WERE SHARED BY THE SECRETARY. THIS IS BASED ON GENUINE U.S. INTEREST. WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN YUGOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND ITS NONALIGNMENT WITH EITHER OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCES. WE WELCOME THIS IN TERMS OF YUGOSLAVIA'S FUTURE AND IN TERMS OF USG INTERESTS. MOREOVER, OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE HAVE THE SAME VIEW. STRESSING THAT HE SPEAKS FOR THE SECRETARY AND OTHERS IN THE ADMINISTRATION, THE COUNSELOR CONCLUDED THAT WHENEVER THINGS OCCUR WHICH TARNISH U.S.-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS WE REGRET IT -- WHETHER IT IS A MATTER SUCH AS BELOVSKI HAD RAISED OR ONE IN THE UN OR NONALIGNED CONTEXT, IT IS EQUALLY CAUSE FOR REGRET. WE ADJUST OUR POLICY TO OUR FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS, AND WE LOOK TO YUGOSLAVIA TO CORRECT ITS ATTITUDES IN THE SAME INTEREST. WE WANT YOUR COUNTRY TO THRIVE. THIS IS FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR POLICY AND IS REFLECTED IN WHAT WE HAVE DONE IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE AND IN MILITARY SALES. THEREFORE, CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 10 STATE 239379

WE MUST BOTH BE CAREFUL THAT IRRITANTS DO NOT GET IN THE WAY OF FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS AND THAT IRRITANTS ARE MINIMIZED WHEN THEY DO ARISE. THAT IS HOW WE -- THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY, AND MYSELF -- LOOK AT U.S.-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS, AND WE HAVE MADE THIS CLEAR IN OUR MANY DISCUSSIONS WITH YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS. SUMMING UP, THE COUNSELOR NOTED THAT THIS HAD BEEN A VERY HELPFUL CONVERSATION AND OBSERVED THAT OUR TWO MINISTERS WOULD BE COMING TO NEW YORK FOR THE UNGA.

16. BELOVSKI INTERJECTED THAT HE HAD "RUSHED" HERE WITH THE UNGA IN MIND. IT IS HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT HIS GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT SIMPLY COMMUNICATE TO US

THAT "FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC WILL BE IN NEW YORK ST ." BELOVSKI WOULD GO FURTHER AND SAY THAT MINIC AND THE SECRETARY SHOULD SEE EACH OTHER THERE. THE COUNSELOR RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT THE SECRETARY

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IS NOW OUT OF THE COUNTRY, IS INVOLVED IN THE ENORMOUS TASK OF TRYING TO ARRANGE A SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND HAS A BUSY SCHEDULE AT THE UN, BUT THE COUNSELOR WOULD TRY TO ARRANGE A MEETING. BELOVSKI ADDED THAT SUCH A MEETING WOULD PROVE TO YUGOSLAV POLITICIANS OUR MUTUAL DESIRE FOR AN END TO THE QUARRELING AND A RETURN TO NORMAL DISCOURSE. HE SAID HE WOULD BRING MINIC TO WASHINGTON IF NECESSARY. THE COUNSELOR AGREED TO DO WHAT HE COULD.

17. BELOVSKI PROPOSED THAT, IF THERE IS A MEETING, UN MATTERS BE SEPARATED FROM BILATERAL ISSUES AND THAT THE LATTER BE ADDRESSED FIRST AND THEN THE TWO MINISTERS COULD GO ON TO WHATEVER ISSUES THEY DESIRED. THE COUNSELOR OBSERVED THAT THERE ARE, OF COURSE, MANY PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE UN. FOR EXAMPLE, WE ARE ENGAGED NOW IN A MAJOR EFFORT TO GET A SOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE HOPE THAT ON THAT ISSUE AND ON MANY OTHERS THE GOY WILL ADOPT A HELPFUL ATTITUDE IN ITS SPEECHES, IN THE CORRIDORS, AND

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 11 STATE 239379

ON THE COMMITTEES.

18. BELOVSKI, RETURNING TO THE DIALOGUE THEME, NOTED THAT THE COUNSELOR HAD BEEN PRESENT AT TALKS BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND TITO WHEN THE LATTER STOPPED THE PRESIDENT TO OBSERVE THAT EVEN UNPLEASANT THINGS CAN BE DISCUSSED IN A PLEASANT WAY. THE COUNSELOR REPLIED WITH A HOPE THAT SUCH A STANDARD WOULD PREVAIL AT THE UN. HE WENT ON TO POINT OUT THAT, EVEN WHILE EMPLOYING A NECESSARILY CIVILIZED AND PLEASANT TONE IN OUR DISCOURSE, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT LET THIS DELUDE US AND ALLOW OUR DIFFERENCES TO FESTER. BELOVSKI REPLIED THAT HE WOULD LIKE AN AGREEMENT FROM US THAT WE WOULD BOTH WORK TO ARRANGE STEPS TOWARD MORE NORMAL RELATIONS. THE COUNSELOR AGREED THAT WE MUST GET OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AWAY FROM THIS UNFORTUNATE RECENT TREND, BUT HE POINTED OUT THAT OUR ACTIONS AND RELATIONSHIPS ON BROADER ISSUES IMPINGE ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. SOME THINGS THE GOY HAS DONE HAVE HINDERED WHAT THE USG IS TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH. WE DO NOT WANT TO MIX BILATERAL AND BROADER ISSUES BUT WE MUST RECOGNIZE

THAT THEY ARE INTER-RELATED.

19. BELOVSKI REPLIED THAT, OF COURSE, SOME GOY
ACTIVITY TOUCHES U.S. INTERESTS AND SENSITIVITIES.
HOWEVER, FOR EXAMPLE, WHILE THE GOY EMPHASIZES

THAT NO ACT OF ANTI-YUGOSLAV TERRORISM HERE HAS BEEN
RESOLVED, WE DO NOT MAKE THIS A PRECONDITION FOR GOOD
RELATIONS. OUR DIFFERENCES CAN BE AMELIORATED,
NORMALIZED. INCIDENTS WHICH MIGHT HAVE NO EFFECT
SOMETIMES TAKE ON A DIFFERENT MEANING BECAUSE OF THE
ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. THE COUNSELOR REPLIED
FIRMLY THAT PRECONDITIONS MAKE NO SENSE, BUT WE MUST
RECOGNIZE THAT IN THE TOTALITY OF OUR RELATIONSHIP
THERE IS A TIE BETWEEN HOW OUR COUNTRIES ACT ON THE
BROADER PLANE AND THE STATE OF THEIR BILATERAL RE-
LATIONS. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THIS FACT IN ORDER TO
AVOID A REGRETTABLE DETERIORATION. STRESSING THE
NEED FOR COMMUNICATION WITH EACH OTHER, THE COUNSELOR
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 12 STATE 239379

PROMISED TO DO WHAT HE COULD TO GET THE TWO FOREIGN
MINISTERS TOGETHER.

20. BELOVSKI REPLIED THAT AN AGREEMENT FOR A MEETING
WOULD BE A VERY GOOD OMEN AND IT WOULD DO MUCH TO
QUIET DOWN SOME ZEALOUS PEOPLE IN THE GOY. BELOVSKI
WENT ON TO EXPRESS HIS PERSONAL FEAR THAT IF WE DO
NOT REMOVE THE BURDEN ON OUR RELATIONS, THEY WILL
CONTINUE TO DETERIORATE. HE SAID HE PUTS HIS FULL
WEIGHT BEHIND AN EFFORT TO RETURN TO NORMAL. A
MEETING BETWEEN MINIC AND THE SECRETARY IS NOT CRU-
CIAL, BUT IT WOULD HELP REVERSE THE CURRENT NEGATIVE
TREND. THE COUNSELOR, OBSERVED THAT PERHAPS IN THE
U.S. VIEW OF THE WORLD YUGOSLAVIA DOES NOT LOOM SO
LARGE AS IN THE REVERSE INSTANCE, BUT HE POINTED OUT
THAT WE ARE WATCHING CLOSELY AND THAT THE TONE OF
THE GOY NOTE VERBALE AND OF THE YUGOSLAV PRESS IS
NOT HELPFUL. IT IS REGRETTABLE AND DISTURBING THAT
IF ONE TODAY ASKED A PREPONDERANCE OF AMERICANS
WHETHER YUGOSLAVIA IS OUR FRIEND, MANY WOULD SAY NO.
BELOVSKI NOTED THAT WE SHOULD BE GUIDED BY INTERESTS
NOT SENTIMENT, AND HE REFERED TO ARTICLES BY MALCOLM
BROWNE, TO WHICH THE COUNSELOR POINTED OUT THAT NOT
EVERYONE READS THE NEW YORK TIMES. THE IMPORTANT
THING, THE COUNSELOR CONTINUED, IS THAT THE USG IS
CONDUCTING A POLICY OF COOPERATION WITH YUGOSLAVIA
AND IS SUPPORTIVE IN THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SPHERE,
BUT IT BECOMES DIFFICULT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO
DO THIS WHEN THE TREND OF PUBLIC OPINION TURNS TO
AN UNFAVORABLE VIEW OF YUGOSLAVIA. THIS COMPLICATES

THE POTENTIAL CAPACITY OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

21. TO BELOVSKI'S PROTESTATIONS THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS
A FRIEND, THE COUNSELOR EMPHASIZED THAT WE WANT TO

REGARD IS AS SUCH. HE ADDED THAT WE DO NOT SEEK TO
CHANGE YUGOSLAVIA, BUT WE WANT TO LIVE IN A HELPFUL,
FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP. THE COUNSELOR PROMISED
TO REFLECT ON THE DISCUSSION AND REPORT IT TO THE
SECRETARY. HE EMPHASIZED THAT WE MUST LEARN FROM
THE PAST TO BUILD FOR THE FUTURE AND THAT THE GOY
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 13 STATE 239379

WOULD FIND THE USG INTERESTED IN DOING WHATEVER
IS POSSIBLE TO GET OUR RELATIONS ON TO A POSITIVE
COURSE.

22. ON LEAVING THE DEPARTMENT, BELOVSKI CONFIRMED
EXPLICITLY TO HIS ESCORT THAT HE HAD PROPOSED THE
MINIC BILATERAL WITH THE SECRETARY WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS.
BELOVSKI ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE ARE
SOME IN THE GOY WHO SOUGHT TO ISOLATE AMBASSADOR
SILBERMAN BUT THAT BELOVSKI HAD REMINDED THEM THAT
THE AMBASSADOR IS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT
AND MUST BE TREATED AS SUCH. BELOVSKI CONVEYED A
CONVICTION THAT THIS COUNSEL WOULD BE EFFECTIVE.
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Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
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Document Number: 1976STATE239379
Document Source: ADS
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Drafter: EUR/EE:JMSEYMOUR:DJW
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: N760007-0312
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197609108/baaaeqge.tel
Line Count: 573
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
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Reference: n/a
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Review Authority: BoyleJA
Review Comment: n/a
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Review Transfer Date:
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Type: TE
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